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## Speeches, The Congo and Policy Towards the New Africa`

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD (D., MONTANA)

TUE AUG 30 1960 AM

THE CONGO AND POLICY TOWARDS THE NEW AFRICA

X

Mr. President:

Hopes rise and fall with respect to developments in the Congo. A road to an orderly and progressive future for that region opens one day only to be blocked the next by seemingly insurmountable obstacles. The problems of the Congolese transition are dumped suddenly on the United Nations to the tune of universal acclamation. Just as suddenly discordant notes are injected into the tune.

It is late in the day of this Congress to raise a question of this kind. I do so, however, because almost imperceptibly but deeply and rapidly, this government is moving into involvement in the affairs of the Congo and Africa. Acts of the Senate are a factor in this trend in policy and, hence, the Senate shares responsibility for the form which the trend assumes. I would note in this connection that we have recently approved an increase in the President's contingency fund of \$100 million and that this amount was sought by him in anticipation of needs in the Congo and elsewhere in Africa. Since we do have a responsibility it behooves us to see as clearly as we are able the essentials of the situation which exists on the African continent and to consider the course which we are pursuing.

Let me say at the outset that the conduct of African policy for the past few years by the President, the Secretary of State and Mr. Lodge at the United Nations, in my opinion, deserves the support of the Senate. They have acted with insight and dispatch in dealing with a most uncertain situation.

It is no criticism of them to note that, of late, the waters of African affairs and, particularly, those in the Congo have become more turbulent.

What is taking place in the Congo may spread to other parts of the African continent. Indeed, in the last few days the short-lived unity of Senegal and the Soudan Republic in the Mali Federation has threatened to come apart in factional dispute.

In short, we are likely to be in for a protracted period of difficulties in Africa. It is not easy to define the sources of these difficulties even though it is essential for the Senate to make the effort. Africa from the point of view of our comprehension is a new continent. It has burst upon our awareness suddenly, after having been shut off almost entirely by barriers of nature and the closed doors of colonial enclaves. What we need to know now for effective policies is not to be derived from the old travel books on Africa and the attitudes which they induced. It is the emergent Africa, the Africa of today and, even more important the Africa of tomorrow which we must seek to fathom. For it is to this new Africa that we must address our policies.

It will be sometime before the channels of objective information and skilled interpretation become fully adequate to this need. What pours out of Africa today is a confusing mixture of fact and fancy, of the sober and the sensational, of what is past and what is yet to be. However, there is a constant improvement in the flow of information as American reporters, writers and scholars converge on the African continent and a network of American embassies develops in the new republics.

#### Colonialism

Some of the significant realities have already come into sharper focus. The first and most important of these is that European colonialism as a system of government is fast disappearing. At the end of World War II,



there were 4 independent nations in Africa. Now, there are 24. By the end of the year, 2 more former colonies will become independent. Four African nations, including South Africa, signed the U.N. Charter in 1945. Ten African states are now members; 14 are likely to become members in the very near future.

It is clear that colonialism is rapidly disappearing as a political system in Africa. What is not so clear but what may be of even greater significance is that colonialism as a political propellant has not yet left the scene. The word still has the capacity to evoke a militant nationalism, and even racism, in Africans. Its capacity in this respect may increase before it begins to decrease. That is likely to be the case so long as any part of the African continent remains under alien jurisdiction. It is likely to be the case so long as any independent nation of Africa, now dominated by European settlers, has still to evolve a workable system of government under which the peoples of varying races can live together in a reasonable acceptance of one another. It is likely to be the case until a free Africa persuades itself that it is a full and equal participant in the general affairs of the world.

The persistence of this political propellant may or may not be valid in logic. What matters from the point of view of policy, however, is that it exists in fact and it is likely to continue to exist for some time. A policy which, in concept or administration, ignores its existence rests upon a most fragile foundation.

#### Political Instability

Beyond the persistence of the factor of colonialism, there are other political realities in the African situation with which our policies must reckon. It is now apparent that the stability of the colonial system was imposed from without at the price of a large measure of social atrophy within

Africa. The basic mode of existence for great numbers of Africans today differs little from the pattern of an earlier time with its multiple tribes, multiple languages, multiple customs, values and superstitions. Furthermore, the political boundaries which colonialism drew in Africa were more a consequence of power-adjustments among the European nations rather than expressions of natural divisions and of human forces within Africa itself. Yet it is within these boundaries that African nations, today, are emerging into independence.

I do not make these observations in criticism. What is past is past and cannot be undone. I point to these factors because they are significant in the unstable situation with which our policies must deal during this period of transition in Africa. There will be strong pressures to pull apart the outwardly-imposed political unities and to revert to the schismatic earlier pattern. The sophisticated nationalism of a handful of African leaders will not easily be transferred to the many. These leaders themselves will have to search for ways to reorder boundaries into new political units, knowing as they do the requirements for a durable statehood in the modern world. To a considerable extent this search can be fruitful and beneficial. Other consequences, however, may also be anticipated if the search becomes aggressive or if African leaders pursue concepts of pan-Africanism on the basis of a militant racism.

#### African Leadership and Modern Skills

That brings me, Mr. President, to still another significant factor in the African situation with which we must deal in policy. To a degree perhaps unparalleled since the revolutions of independence in the Americas, the great political transition in Africa depends upon a handful of trained and experienced leaders. And unlike the simple world of the Americas at an earlier



time, Africa is being propelled, in independence, into the modern world of instant communications, missiles, nuclear power and complex bureaucratic organization.

Few Africans have been introduced as apprentices and, even fewer as managerial participants in the affairs of the modern state, the modern economy, and the modern world. Yet many must learn rapidly if, to the bare bones of independence, there is to be added the sinews of economic and political organization which will give that independence beneficial meaning and durability for the people of Africa. The problem is not simply one of replacing the European colonial bureaucracies, with U.N. or other bureaucracies and, then, with an African bureaucracy in the same form. However much replacements of this kind may be unavoidable for the present, the deeper problem is the development of responsible African government and responsible African management to guide the African peoples into a way of life suited to their needs and, at the same time, capable of peaceful, free and constructive cooperation in the general progress of mankind.

The task which confronts an emerging Africa is monumental. Much will depend on an understanding and patient hand from the rest of the world. But even more will depend upon the dedication, the wisdom and the realistic restraint of those few Africans who are now assuming the reins of political power. They, more than anyone else, will make the decisions which set the patterns, for better or for worse, for the new way of life in Africa.

#### Outside Influences

I turn now, Mr. President, to the last significant factor in the African situation with which I wish to deal at this time. I have already noted that Africa's future is partially dependent on an understanding and

patient assist from the rest of the world. There appears to be a great, a universal eagerness to lend a hand in Africa. We see it clearly in the Soviet Union and China. We see it clearly in Cairo. We see it clearly in Europe. We see it clearly in this country and in the United Nations.

What we do not yet see clearly is the nature of this hand. Certainly there is a human and sincere desire--and I am sure it exists among the people of all countries--to help those who for too long have been cut off from equal participation in the mainstream of human civilization. But is that all there is in the extended hands? Is there not also a certain eagerness to project into Africa the many ramifications of the cold war and other power-rivalries which now plague the rest of the world?

The field is wide-open for that game at the moment. Africa is in transition and its leadership has only limited experience. But transitions are not forever and those who have learned the way to national independence are equipped to learn other matters. Most important, I believe the emerging African peoples have had enough of the role of pawns moved on the chessboards of others. They will not meekly assume that role again and they will react against those who seek to return them to it.

It may be too much to expect but it is not too much to attempt to insulate an emergent Africa from the international, political and ideological storms which now sweep the rest of the world. In any event, I believe that policies, in concept or administration, which deliberately seek to project these storms into Africa will redound neither to the benefit of the African nations nor even to the long-range interests of those nations which pursue them.



### The Situation in the Congo

The factors which I have been discussing and with which our policies respecting Africa must contend are to be found to a greater or lesser degree throughout that continent. And they are of intense significance in the immediate crisis in the Congo. The propellant of colonialism still drives people in that region to militant action despite the fact that independence has been achieved, despite the fact that the Belgians are in rapid withdrawal as U.N. forces enter the situation. Furthermore, as the colonial system has been progressively dismantled, the outward political unity which this system created faces rising Centrifugal pressures, not only in Katanga but elsewhere in that huge land. Also in evidence in the Congo is the counter-groping of pan-Africanism to which I have already alluded; unfortunately, I may add, it has already taken on some dangerous racial overtones in the expression of differing attitudes towards U.N. forces supplied by African nations and those from elsewhere. In the Congo, too, is to be found an enormous gap between the immediate need for skilled Africans in government and management and the extremely limited supply. In the Congo, finally, we see the helping hand from the rest of the world extended in sincere understanding of the difficulties confronting this new nation but also with the muscles of the external power-rivalries flexing here and there in an eagerness to plunge into the inviting situation.

### United States Interests

If we are to deal effectively in policy not only with the situation in the Congo but, in truth, with developments throughout Africa, we must not only see our interests clearly but we must pursue those interests in the



light of significant factors of the kind I have been discussing today. Our interests, Mr. President, are not hard to define. They arise, first and foremost from the universal implications of the historic American doctrines of freedom. And men and women in Africa, today, are striving for freedom and its meaning for them. They may struggle awkwardly and ineptly, perhaps, and sometimes even blindly but, nevertheless, the struggle is authentic.

Furthermore, Mr. President, American citizens have modest, cultural and commercial ties with Africa and the prospects for the improvement of the ties are good as Africa develops in freedom. These, too, constitute American interests.

Finally, Mr. President, we have an interest in human progress in peace in Africa. We have that interest in part because we cannot, and no people worthy of the name human can, close eyes to the desperate travails of a vast segment of the human family. We have it, too, because the peaceful progress of Africa is interrelated with the peace of the people of this nation in this second half of the 20th Century. We have this interest because if Africa can progress in freedom and peace, it will spare us the extension of the costly trappings of the cold war to still another continent.

#### Framework for United States Policy

What, then, do these interests suggest as a proper course of policy for this nation? I do not believe that they suggest that we plunge headlong into the turbulent troubles of Africa with eager dollars, with unsolicited advice, with an indiscriminate out-pouring of new military and economic aid-programs wherever takers may be found. It should be obvious, now, on the

basis of experience elsewhere that this approach can guarantee neither to dispel Africa's troubles nor to exorcise communism from that continent. Equally, Mr. President, we must resist the easy temptation to pass off the difficulties in Africa as of little import to this nation. In short, our important but limited interests suggest that we do not assume the role of either first or last among equals in our approach to Africa but that we take our place as true equals among outsiders while Africa develops within, under its own leadership and in accord with its own genius. This view presupposes a major effort of assistance by the United Nations, as Africans need it, seek it and can use it. But I hasten to add that that supposition is not the same as the glib slogan: "Let the United Nations do it."

With all due respect to Mr. Hammarskjold, a brilliant and dedicated man, the fact is that what needs to be done in Africa will not be done unless the policies of this government and others and, most of all, the leadership of the new Africa permit it to be done.

#### Principles of a United States Policy on Africa

We cannot answer for others in this connection but we can look to our own policies on Africa and their administration. In the light of the analysis which I have attempted today, I would suggest that our policies must flow from the following principles:

(1) This nation should give its support, diplomatically and otherwise to the end that independence and human equality will eventually be achieved throughout Africa. Our support must go, as it has begun to go under this Administration, to those who work soberly in Africa for these ends.



May I say, in all candor, that this principle grows easier to maintain with consistency and dynamism as the nations of Europe with whom we are associated in other matters increasingly espouse it in their own African policies. The difficulties, however, are great and will remain great in those areas in Africa of heavy European settlement and I do not wish to make light of the task of those who must conduct our policies affecting those areas.

It seems to me particularly important that this principle find expression in the character and conduct of our expanding network of embassies in the new African republics. I hope that these establishments will be kept modest in size and character. I hope, further, that our official representatives will seek a fresh and full understanding of the situations which they encounter, based upon direct and broad contact with the peoples of these new nations. I hope, finally, that these embassies will be conducted in a manner which reflects the simple goodwill of this nation towards the new republics of Africa and our sympathetic appreciation of their struggles. In sum, it seems to me of the utmost importance that now, at the beginnings of contact with the new Africa, our official representation be kept free of those characteristics which would invite a deflection of the political propellant of colonialism to this nation.

(2) In the absence of over-riding considerations to the contrary, this nation should use whatever influence it can against a centrifugal fragmentation of existing political units in Africa. However powerful the divisive forces of an ancient tribalism may still be, they are the forces of the dying Africa; they are not the strengths of the Africa that is struggling to come into being. May I say that to hold to this principle is not to stand against adjustments in present political boundaries. Such adjustments are to

be anticipated and are to be encouraged if they lead to more practical political and economic units. We should resist these tendencies, however if they derive either from a narrow tribalism or a sweeping racist pan-Africanism.

I realize that these particular problems must be dealt with primarily by the African peoples themselves. There is every indication, however, that the United Nations may be drawn increasingly into them. Since that is the probability, we must be prepared to exert our influence affirmatively in that organization and, in other ways, on the side of modern political progress in Africa.

(3) We should recognize that the hopes for freedom and progress in Africa during this period of transition depend, perhaps, more on the calibre of men than on the forms of governments and we should lend a most understanding ear to those African leaders who, with sincerity, personal dedication and realism seek to move their nations forward.

We must learn, quickly, as much as we can about the emergent African leadership and, if we are to learn accurately, we will eschew such inapplicable frames of reference as pro-communist or pro-western. The leadership that matters for the future of Africa will be neither one nor the other. It will be pro-African in the finest sense of the term in that it will be dedicated to the welfare of its own peoples and will drive soberly but relentlessly to increase their capacity for survival and expression in the modern world.

(4) We should join with all nations so inclined in an effort to lend a genuinely helpful hand to the vast needs of Africa for training in modern skills and for prompt economic and social development.



If Africa is to make the most of this help and, if the rest of the world is to gain from it in terms of peace, then it seems to me that this help must go to Africa free of any extension--expressed or implied--of the power conflicts and rivalries which divide the world. The challenge of Africa is not a call to greater propaganda battles between us and the Soviet Union. The challenge of Africa is to the world. It is a challenge to help open in peace the doors of modern life for the peoples of Africa, for their benefit and for the still unfathomed benefits which may flow to mankind from that opening.

#### Specifics of a United States Policy

If we accept this as the deeper challenge of Africa then it seems to me that we must begin to seek agreement through out policies, in the U.N. and elsewhere, on the following points:

(1) That all requests for military training missions and military aid from the African nations henceforth be referred to the United Nations and that such missions, as approved by the Security Council, be supplied solely under the aegis of the U.N.; further, that existing military aid missions in Africa be converted into U.N. missions at the request of any independent African nation and, as rapidly as possible.

(2) That the United States seek agreement with the Soviet Union to the end that both nations shall refrain from seeking military bases in Africa and from sending military forces to any part of Africa except as the Security Council may direct; further, that existing bases of either nation in Africa be closed out in due course and any military forces of either nation on the African continent be withdrawn as the Security Council may direct.

(3) That the United Nations effort in the Congo, and similar efforts which may be required and sought elsewhere in Africa, henceforth be financed by a four-quarters fund: one-quarter supplied by the United States; one-quarter by the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe acting, as willing, in concert; one-quarter by Western Europe acting, as willing, in concert; and one-quarter by the other members of the United Nations.

(4) That the four-quarters fund be used, further, as the principal instrument for financing a substantial program of technical aid to Africa, to be pursued predominantly through an expansion of educational and training facilities in that continent, with technicians and teachers supplied on a similar four-quarter division, under the general direction of the U.N. Secretary-General; and further, as this effort comes into operation, that bilateral assistance by all nations in Africa be progressively curtailed.

Mr. President, my principal interest today has been to explore the limits of our proper concern in the unfolding situation in Africa. The difficulty which confronts our policy is not only that we may do too little but that we may be impelled to do too much and in ill-adapted ways and, hence, contribute to the creation on the African continent of still another front in the cold war. We shall not be thanked by the Africans if that is the effect of our contribution regardless of its size and our good intentions. Nor will we serve the interests of this nation by enlarging the already costly trappings of the cold war--notably, military and political aid, propaganda dissemination and increased defense expenditures--if it can be avoided.

Mr. President, I do not know if it will be possible to bring into being the beginnings of a constructive and cooperative approach to Africa along the lines of the suggestions which I have advanced. There is little



ground for sanguine expectations. Nevertheless, I believe we should make, in policy, an effort of this kind. We should make it with all diligence and in all sincerity. We should make it in our own interests, in the interests of the emergent African peoples and in the interests of the peace of the world.